

I have faith in Americans because I have seen time and time again in Nevada our ability to come together and work with one another for our common good.

America is more than just one person, and like President Lincoln's, my faith will always lie with the people.

Ms. ROSEN. Mr. President, I didn't come to the Senate expecting to sit as a juror in an impeachment trial. I have participated in this trial with an open mind, determined to evaluate the President's actions outside of any partisan lens, and with a focus on my constitutional obligations. I listened to the arguments, took detailed notes, asked questions, and heard both sides answer questions from my colleagues. After thorough consideration, based on the evidence presented, sadly, I find I have no choice but to vote to remove the President from office.

The first Article of Impeachment charges the President with abuse of power, specifically alleging that the President used the powers of his public office to obtain an improper political benefit. I can now conclude the evidence shows that this is exactly what the President did when he withheld critically important security assistance from Ukraine in order to persuade the Ukrainian Government to investigate his political rival. I understand that foreign policy involves negotiations, leveraging advantages, and using all the powers at our disposal to advance U.S. national security goals. But this was different. The President sent his personal attorney, whose obligation is to protect the personal interests of the President, not the United States, to meet and negotiate with foreign government officials from Ukraine to get damaging information about the President's rivals, culminating in the July 25 phone call between the U.S. and Ukrainian Presidents, during which the President made clear his intent to withhold aid until a political favor was completed. In doing so, the President put U.S. national security and a key alliance against Russian aggression at risk, all so he could benefit politically from the potential fallout from an investigation into a possible opponent.

While I would like to hear more from witnesses and see the documents the administration is withholding, the evidence presented is compelling and not in doubt. The President withheld military aid in order to coerce an ally to help him politically. This is no mere policy disagreement; this is about whether the President negotiates with foreign governments on behalf of the United States; or on his own behalf. No elected official, regardless of party, should use public office to advance his or her personal interests, particularly to the detriment of U.S. national security, and in the case of the President of the United States, such conduct is particularly dangerous. As elected officials, we have no more important responsibility than ensuring our national security, and that includes protecting

the Nation from future threats. The President's conduct here sets a dangerous precedent that must not be repeated in the future and requires a firm response by the representatives of the people. After hearing evidence that the President heldup congressionally approved military assistance to an ally fighting Russia in order to exact concessions from Ukraine that benefited him personally, we cannot trust the President to place national security over his own interests. It is therefore with sadness that I conclude that the President must be removed from office under article I and I will vote to convict him of abuse of power.

With respect to the second Article of Impeachment charging obstruction of Congress, the President's behavior suggests that he believes he is above the law. Certainly, there may be documents and testimony that are subject to executive privilege or are confidential for some other reason. But here, the President directed every agency, office, and employee in the executive branch not to cooperate with the impeachment inquiry conducted by the U.S. House of Representatives. As a Member of Congress, I take my oversight role seriously. It is how we ensure transparency in government, so the people of Nevada can know how their tax dollars are spent and whether their elected officials are acting legally, ethically, and in their best interests. The President's refusal to negotiate in good faith with the House investigators over documents and testimony and instead to impede any investigation into his official conduct can only be characterized as blatant obstruction.

More importantly, it suggests that he will continue to operate outside the law, and if he believes he can ignore lawful subpoenas from Congress, it will be impossible to hold him accountable. For these reasons, I will vote to convict the President of obstruction of Congress, as delineated in article II.

Impeachment is a grave constitutional remedy, not a partisan exercise. To fulfill my constitutional role as a juror, I asked myself how I would view the evidence if it were any President accused of this conduct. Based on the facts and arguments presented, I conclude that no President of the United States, regardless of party, can trade congressionally approved and legally mandated military assistance for personal political favors. No one is above the law, not this President or the next President. Having exercised my constitutional duty, I will continue what I have been doing over the course of this trial and have done since I first came to Congress, to look past partisanship and develop commonsense, bipartisan solutions that help hard-working families in Nevada and across the country.

#### RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Sen-

ate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate stands in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 4:00 p.m., recessed subject to the call of the Chair and reassembled at 4:04 p.m., when called to order by the Chief Justice.

#### TRIAL OF DONALD J. TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The CHIEF JUSTICE. The Senate will convene as a Court of Impeachment.

#### THE JOURNAL

The CHIEF JUSTICE. If there is no objection, the Journal of proceedings of the trial is approved to date.

The Deputy Sergeant at Arms, Jennifer Hemingway, will make the proclamation.

The Deputy Sergeant at Arms, Jennifer Hemingway, made proclamation as follows:

Hear ye! Hear ye! Hear ye! All persons are commanded to keep silent, on pain of imprisonment, while the Senate of the United States is sitting for the trial of the articles of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives against Donald John Trump, President of the United States.

As a reminder to everyone in the Chamber, as well as those in the Galleries, demonstrations of approval or disapproval are prohibited.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. Chief Justice, the Senate is now ready to vote on the Articles of Impeachment, and after that is done, we will adjourn the Court of Impeachment.

#### ARTICLE I

The CHIEF JUSTICE. The clerk will now read the first Article of Impeachment.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

#### ARTICLE I: ABUSE OF POWER

The Constitution provides that the House of Representatives "shall have the sole Power of Impeachment" and that the President "shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors". In his conduct of the office of President of the United States—and in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed—Donald J. Trump has abused the powers of the Presidency, in that:

Using the powers of his high office, President Trump solicited the interference of a foreign government, Ukraine, in the 2020 United States Presidential election. He did so through a scheme or course of conduct that included soliciting the Government of Ukraine to publicly announce investigations that would benefit his reelection, harm the election prospects of a political opponent, and influence the 2020 United States Presidential election to his advantage. President Trump also sought to pressure the Government of Ukraine to take these steps by conditioning official United States Government